1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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Inside a Masai kraal.

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Place in the woods where the warriors sleep after eating meat.

[Facing P. 292]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-aidura.

484 [233] Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur sapwo se-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

[492] Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon sapik il-onito oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benia.

484 342 Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii 'n-gujit, nemesbetu 'ng-ajijik, emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onito. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, nesbetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok nasabetu. E 'yan 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kaya. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-giabu, o el-ōkidoñgai ēabulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgita, kake emany i-manyat eboitare noolgotonye oo 'nanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo e-sero ēinoe 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'ilngwa lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Prior to the meat *Ol-Ng'esher* the men must eat meat in the forest or bush. They build a small round stockade, called *Ol Pul*, of thorns with one entrance about 2 ft. 6 ins. high through which one must crawl. Here they store the meat, and sleep. They may eat the meat either within or without the *Ol Pul*. There is a picture of an *Ol Pul* opposite p. 292 in Hollis.

The meat is pierced by a wooden spit about 18 ins. long. This is stuck in the ground by the fire and the meat is toasted. Soup is also made of fat and water and the bark of *Il Kitoloswa* or *Il Kiluretti* trees. The decoction of these barks makes the warriors fierce. They also ascribe to this cause the curious hysterical fits into which they frequently fall when excited. I can vouch for the *Il Kitoloswa*, small doses of which do, in fact, produce a fierce and unbalanced state of mind. I have never tried the *Il Kiluretti*.

When the warriors sleep in an *Ol Pul* they pray to God at sunrise on behalf of their age-group. Each one takes his skewer and rubs it in the ashes of the fire in the *Ol Pul*. He then goes out of the entrance and strikes the sides of it and walks towards the East reciting his prayer and striking trees with the skewer. While returning he sings the war song *Eng-ipolossa* of his age-group. As he re-enters the *Ol Pul* he thrusts the skewer into the thorns at the entrance on his right and leaves it there. There are nearly always a bundle of skewers to be seen in this position.

The prayer is as follows :—

" Na Ai aatomono otabukua olemoānikino enkiko otabukutua kinono lemaar il ogarak ol lughunya. Na iye Eng Ai aatomono injoki iyook ingishu naang'ang'unyi. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo Na Ai tadnyiki iyook ol poror naa ol kilo. Naa iye Eng Ai naatejo injoki iyook nemear il ogarak il lughuny otabukua il omunyak neinguaa kulikae omunyak nemear il ogarak il lughung. Aatomono Na Ai wisrn ai engolong meilepu t'ol endolu tangoro iyook il tiil-omunyak."

Here is the translation :—

" O God I have prayed Thee having come out hither with my garment unbound. Thy (warriors) have come out here, let not wild beasts hurt my head. And Thee O God I have prayed give us the cattle which prosper steadily. And Thee O God I have prayed bind together for us the age-group in one garment. And I have said to Thee O God let not the wild beasts hurt the heads of the fortunate ones who have come out here and let them not hurt the heads of other fortunate ones who come from far away. I have prayed Thee God, my beloved, when the sun rises from the valley, strike thou us with the rays which are lucky."

Each age-group has a different song. The song of the Il Kitoip is " *Tangoroki iyook t'alewa tauwa nedoru indonata o asurui nemetii ol morani le sayet elobi.*" I cannot translate it because, like other Masai songs, it is couched in rather cryptic language.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for /85/ the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.

701 262 264 [273] [276] Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

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[342]

Building a large boma entails cutting a large number of trees (Fig. 22). Where trees are thick in Western Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently the bomas are constructed away from them in more open country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires -- from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to a square mile.

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Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent water. One day they graze the animals to and from water, letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite direction, and on the third day they return to water. Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good
[887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were
342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases
•343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other
*233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of boma construction.
343 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent
233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas, just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their care. Usually no plastered hut is constructed. Instead a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree damage.

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[361] Large bomas appeared to be relatively permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was usually built nearby, often only a few yards away. Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for about five to eight years, although some doubtless last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation
[233] of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock are driven during the night the dung accumulates into a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.
[364] This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets